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ABSTRACT

Jackson County, West Virginia, a rural county which was industrialized in 1956, was reported on in 1966. Natives of the county, characterized by traditional patterns of behavior, and in-migrants, characterized by rational patterns, were compared regarding educational values and attitudes. The basic hypothesis of this study was that the in-migrants carried with them different educational values and norms from those of the older, established population. Attitude and participation scales and a 2-part schedule were used in data collection. Systematically, each of the hypotheses for samples of both the total population and parents of school pupils was tested statistically. The basic hypothesis that the in-migrants carried into the county different educational values and norms was partially upheld. Evidence indicated that migration is a factor in the differences only at the lower socioeconomic levels. A sub-hypothesis that a conflict of values resulted and that in-migrants have sought to implement their values through greater participation in school affairs was also partially upheld. The document contains tables on factors such as demography, age, sex, education, income, and residence. (SW)

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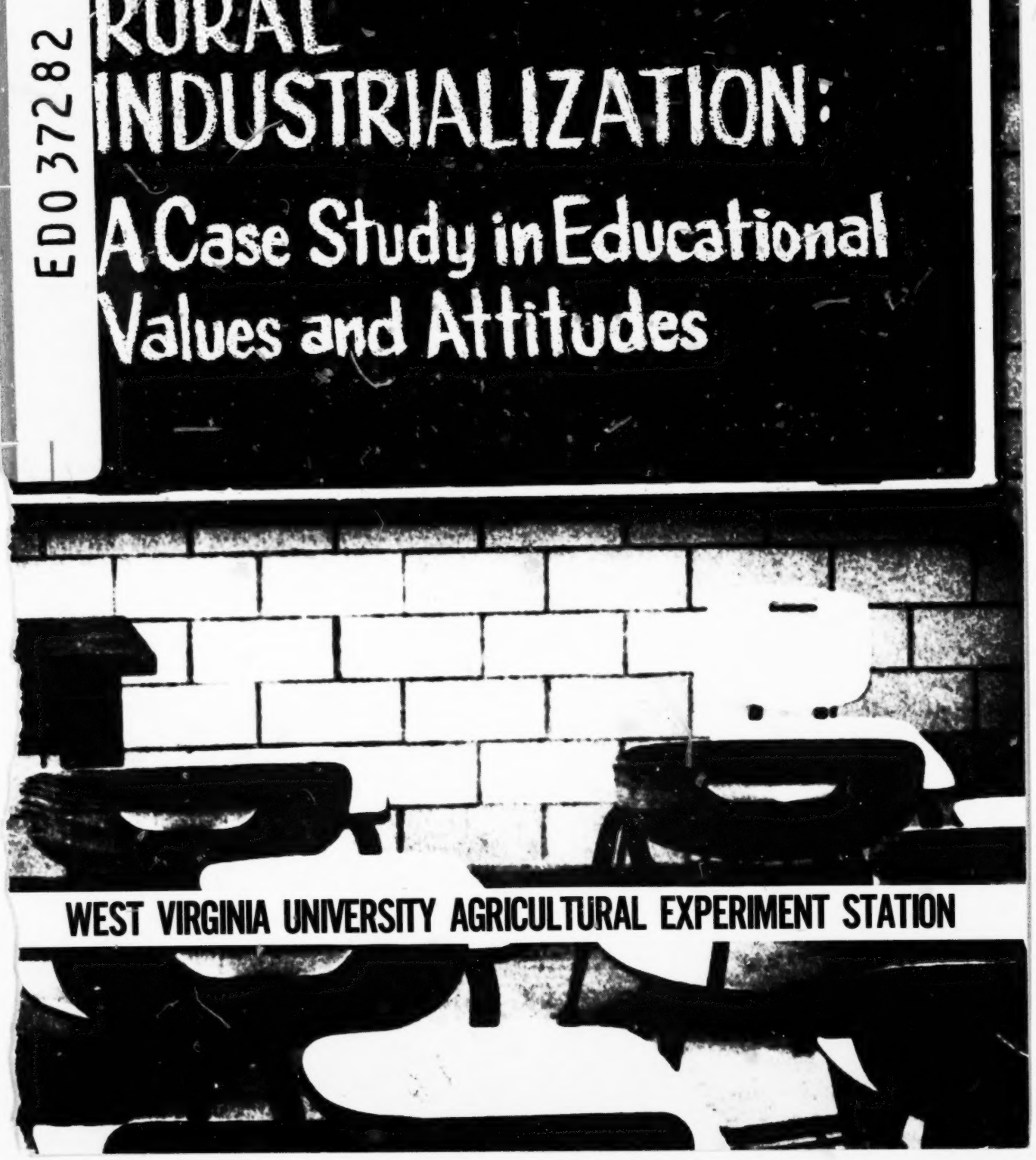

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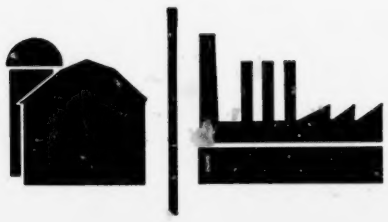

RURAL INDUSTRIALIZATION:
A Case Study in Educational Values and Attitudes

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FOREWORD

This study of Jackson County is focused upon the comparison of the educational attitudes and values of old residents and in-migrants. The study needs to be viewed in a context of two distinct perspectives. First, interest in and concern for the local education enterprise has intensified in the nation as a whole, quite independently of specific local situations. This concentration on education is not likely to be judged as misplaced. Employment opportunities in American society have shifted to occupations which require more and different kinds of education.

There are tensions generated by this first perspective, and this leads to the second perspective. Accompanying the movement of any large-scale industry into a rural area is a necessary cadre of management, supervisory personnel, and skilled craftsmen—people who are acutely aware of the import of the changed nature of prospective employment. Since the schools of many rural areas may not match the quality of those in other areas, a sense of impatience and relative deprivation is likely to develop. Measured resistance may confront efforts to improve the local educational enterprise from those people who are unaware of the kind of life for which the children must prepare. People who resist may not be sharing in the general prosperity, or for other reasons feel neglected, and they may find the means for expressing a latent resentment. This bulletin, a case study, seeks to detail facets of educational attitudes and values in just such a situation.

1

Introduction

Most rural communities of the Northeast[1] have become increasingly aware of the significance of new employment opportunities to industrial development in the region. Industrialization brings with it employment, income, and a chance to broaden and strengthen the local economy of the community. With economic development comes accompanying problems of change and adjustment.

While it is conceded that the industrialization is beneficial through providing employment and income to local residents and to the in-migrants, relatively little research has been undertaken to delineate the influences accompanying industrialization on attitudes toward education and schools. This study is concerned with the attitudes of two groups—the native population and the in-migrants—as related to education.

The county in which this study was undertaken was selected because it had experienced a tremendous change in the last ten years. In 1956, a large integrated aluminum plant was put into operation by the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation near Ravenswood, West Virginia. As a result of the establishment of this plant, there has been an influx of new workers and their families into a once distinctly rural area. Although the in-migrants may accept subordinate positions, they make an impact on the style of life which tends to change community patterns. The native population is confronted with realignments, constituting a shift from a distinctly rural to urban community.

Under these conditions, the natives of the rural community, characterized by traditional patterns of behavior, and the in-migrants, characterized by rational patterns,[2] may become involved in a clash of values. The in-migrants may seek to further their values by becoming leaders in educational organizations and functions.

This study sets side by side the two groups so that comparisons can be made. These efforts should be helpful to rural and urban planners, farm

[1]The study was undertaken in conjunction with Northeast Regional Project No. 47 "The Social and Economic Consequences of Changes in Employment Upon Selected Northeastern Communities."

[2]Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1950), p. 21.

people, rural leaders, and others in understanding an area of conflict which is likely to occur in the industrialization of a rural area.

2

Jackson County in Perspective

In order to understand the effects of industrialization on educational attitudes, a "before and after" glance at the county is needed.

Jackson County

"Jackson county lies in the western part of the State on the Ohio river, which washes its . . . boundary for a distance of twenty-four miles. It is bounded on the north by Wood county; east by Wirt and Roane; south by Kanawha; southwest and west, by Putnam and Mason. At the time of its formation (1831) it was increased by an addition from Mason, so that the present area is 471.98 square miles . . . The lowest depression in the county is 300 feet above sea level, and the highest point rises to a height of 600 feet."[3]

Prior to the year 1955, Jackson County was predominantly an agricultural county with only a small amount of its work force employed in manufacturing. With the coming of the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation, the economy has become more evenly balanced between agriculture and industry.

In 1960, Jackson County had a population of 18,541. This was a 21.2 per cent increase in population since 1950 and a net change of 3,242.[4] There were 5,053 heads of households: 3,214 were rural, 881 were located in Ripley, and 958 in Ravenswood. The population per household was 3.66. The median age of residents in the county, according to the latest Census figures, is 26.4, 1.4 years lower than in 1950; 8.7 per cent of the population is over 65.[5]

[3]H. H. Hardesty, *Hardesty's Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia* (Chicago and Toledo: H. H. Hardesty and Co., 1883), p. 290, 291.

[4]*Current Population Reports series* 123, No. 7, Nov. 1962, p. 57.

[5]U. S., Bureau of the Census, *Eighteenth Census of the United States*: 1960. Population, Table 27, p. 64.

In 1960 there were 7,700 persons in the labor force in Jackson County, approximately 80 per cent of whom were males. About 42 per cent were engaged in manufacturing. The median income for families and unrelated individuals was $4,307, and the per capita income was $2,348. In 1950 over half—65.1 per cent—of the families had an income less than $2,500, while in 1960, only 10.3 per cent had an income less than $2,500. In the period 1954-1957, total personal income increased to $55,168,000. This was due to the construction boom at the plant.[6]

The total school enrollment for the county was 4,199 in 1960; this figure contains the age group from 5 to 34 years old. Thirty-one were in college; the remainder, 4,168, were in the primary and secondary schools. The median number of years of schooling completed was the same for both males and females, 8.8.[7] The primary and secondary school enrollment, at the present time, is 5,400; this figure represents a net increase of 1,232 since 1960.

In 1950, the county had 74 school buildings with a total of 142 classrooms. By 1960, the number of buildings decreased to 32, but the number of classrooms increased to 175, the result of construction of new buildings and the closing of many one-room schools.

3

Comparison of Jackson and Roane Counties

Prior to the coming of the industrial complex, the economy of the area was static. Only small increases were shown in the various economic indicators during the years 1950-1955. To better illustrate the effects of a 3,000-man employer, a comparison of Jackson County with Roane County is offered. Roane County was chosen because it was similar to Jackson County—both being agricultural counties—prior to the construction of the plant.

[6]*Economic Review of Jackson County*, 1950-1960. Prepared by the Area Development Department, Appalachian Power Company.

[7]U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighteenth Census of the United States*:1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 83, p. 156.

TABLE 1

Selected Comparisons of Jackson County and Roane County

Selected Comparisons	Jackson			Roane		
	1950	1960	Per Cent Change	1950	1960	Per Cent Change
Population	15,299	18,541	+21.2	18,408	15,720	−14.6
Total Assessed Valuation	$21,983	$54,582	+148.3	$25,862	$28,288	+9.4
Total Expenditures by County Government* .	77.1	317.5	+311.8	88.6	168.6	+90.3
Total Amounts Expended for Public School Education*	836	1,157	+38.4	785	851	+8.4
Personal Income*	15,008	43,904	+192.5	13,904	22,893	+64.7
Per Capita Income	1,096	2,348	+114.2	822	1,444	+75.7
Retail Sales*	6,705	13,543	+102.0	6,578	9,979	+51.7

*In Thousands of Dollars.

Data Source: Leonard M. Sizer, *County Study Data Book*, Bulletin 464, West Virginia University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1961.

As shown in Table 1, Jackson County had an increase in population (21.2 per cent) from 1950-1960, while Roane had a decrease (-14.6 per cent) in the same period. This decrease was not unique to Roane County; many other agricultural counties in the United States were confronted with such a loss. The ability of a large industrial complex to attract in-migrants and stabilize the native population is illustrated by these data.

In 1960, the total assessed valuation of all property in Jackson County was $54,582,000, an increase of 148.3 per cent from 1950. Roane County in 1960 had a total assessed valuation of property of $28,288,000, representing an increase of 9.4 per cent from 1950. Jackson County's increase was 138.9 per cent greater than Roane's.

The total expenditures by county governments is also indicative of the great influence of a large firm. Jackson County had an increase of 311.8 per cent; Roane County had only a 90.3 per cent increase.

4

Problem, Procedure and Methodology

The particular problems of this bulletin are drawn from a larger study that states: "The objective of this study is to determine the consequences of changes in employment upon the social organization of selected communities in the Northeast region. Each of the eight states (Maine,

New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia) participating in this objective is conducting field studies in one or more communities. The communities were selected on the basis of the following criteria: the degree of impact of changes in employment opportunities and sources; the importance of the specific situation for the state as a whole; the degree to which data from the individual communities can be generalized to the region."[8]

With the above criteria in mind, Jackson County was chosen for study. The movement of new workers and their families into a once rural area, thus suddenly changing it, presents a complex development for study. The immediate concern of this study is limited to a consideration of the attitudes of the residents of the county toward education. The hypothesis under study is summarized below.

The impact is seen in the total amounts expended for public school education, although it is not as great. Jackson County had an increase of 38.4 per cent from 1950-1960 and Roane County had an increase of 8.4 per cent in the same period.

The impact on the economy of Jackson County can best be seen in total personal income, per capita income, and retail sales. These indicators increased 192.5 per cent, 114.2 per cent, and 102.0 per cent, respectively. Roane County, however, had increases of only 64.7 per cent, 75.7 per cent, and 51.7 per cent, respectively (Table 1).

The number of doctors, dentists, and registered nurses has increased in Jackson County and decreased in Roane. Recently, Jackson County completed a new general hospital.

The selected comparisons will illustrate the size of the impact of a large industrial complex upon a rural community. Jackson had a much the respondents' opinion of education and the schools in Jackson County. into the county after January 1, 1954. As shown in Table 2 44.2 per cent capita income, and retail sales than did Roane County.

Hypothesis

The establishment of the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Ravenswood, West Virginia, brought into the county a new population, including technical and managerial personnel.

The basic hypothesis of this study is that the in-migrants brought with them a set of educational values and norms which are different from those of the older, established population. The principal sub-hypothesis

[8]This statement was taken from the Northeast Project Proposal, Number 47.

is that a conflict of values resulted, and that the in-migrants have sought to implement their values through leadership in the local P.T.A.'s, through working for congenial members of the school board, and through working for school levies.

The basic hypothesis, that different educational values are held by the old and new residents, is to be tested by comparing the relevant attitudes which are disclosed in a survey of a representative sample of households. The testing of the main sub-hypothesis includes data gathered in informal interviews with members of organizations and with townspeople knowledgeable about local current events, and also from information gathered in the field survey.

Schedule

The section of the schedule pertinent to this particular phase of the study consisted of two parts. The first part was basically concerned with the respondents' opinion of education and the schools in Jackson County.

The second part was concerned with obtaining information about the respondents' activities (participation) with regard to the schools.

A schedule was prepared for interviews with the head of the household, or the wife of the head.

Construction of Attitude and Participation Scales

An attitude can be defined as "an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world."[9] Attitudes are influenced partly by the individual's value system and partly by his experiences.

Information about attitudes provides clues to a pattern of response. A scaling technique was devised so as to obtain responses that would represent the range of attitudes. The qualitative differences were assigned quantitative values. The construction of scales makes possible a statistical analysis of the data. Such analysis will contribute to an understanding of the data and the results which may be stated in terms of statistical tests of significance.

Because of time and resource limitations, only a small sample of the factors involved in ascertaining attitudes toward education could be measured. Since the sample included families in all stages of the family life cycle, some questions were not applicable to all; *e.g.*, families who

[9]James Nielson, *The Farm Families . . . Their Attitudes, Goals and Goal Achievement*, Bulletin 287, Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1962.

had no children in school could not answer all questions concerning the schools. However, there is a comparison made, eliminating this group of respondents.

Attitude Toward Education — The construction of the attitude toward education scale was based on the response of each interviewee to questions dealing with his opinion of schooling. Eight questions were selected: (1) How much of a handicap is it to boys and girls of this county if they do not finish high school? (2) How much help to children are the things they learn in school today? (3) How would you feel if your child quit before graduating from high school? (4) Have you strongly encouraged your children to continue education beyond high school? (5) How much education would you like your child to have? (6) Would you take money out of your savings to send your child to school? (7) Would you be willing to see your son or daughter go into debt in order to go on in school? (8) Would you be willing to go into debt so that your children would be able to go to school?

The responses to the statements were weighted on a scale of 1 to 5, from least favorable to most favorable. The values for each set of statements were summed to form the respondents' total score. A maximum score of forty and a minimum of eight could be attained. The total score of each respondent was then added and a mean score for the two groups was derived.

The responses offered for each item are not uniform, that is, each has a different set of responses but the weighting procedure is the same. In a few instances the weight of three represents a neutral position. For convenience in scoring, those respondents indicating blanks, don't know, and not applicable, etc., were given the value of three.

Attitude Toward the Schools and Teachers — The construction of this particular scale was made to determine the respondents' opinion of the schools and teachers of Jackson County. The questions used as the basis for this scale are as follows: (1) Do you think the teachers are paid too much, etc? (2) Would you say that most of the teachers in this county, as compared with elsewhere, are: much better, etc? (3) At the present time, how much need is there for improving the schools? (4) How do the schools in this county compare with schools in neighboring counties in the State? (5) How do the schools in this county compare with schools elsewhere in the United States? (6) Would you say that you are completely satisfied with the schools? (7) In your opinion, are the education standards in this county: very high, etc?

As above, the responses were weighted 1 to 5, but in this case indicated satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the schools and teachers. The

procedure is the same as above for arriving at the final mean score. However, in this scale, a maximum of 35 points indicates a high degree of dissatisfaction and a minimum of 7 points indicates a high degree of satisfaction.

Participation in School Activities — This scale measures the respondents' activities with regard to the schools. The questions asked are as follows: (1) How often did you attend P.T.A. meetings? (2) Were you ever an officer of the P.T.A.? (3) Have you worked for the election of certain school board members? (4) How many times have you visited a meeting of the board? (5) Have you worked for school levies? (6) Did you vote in levy elections? (7) Do you discuss school programs with teachers or principals? (8) Do you discuss school programs with the superintendent? (9) Have you discussed the quality of schools with friends and neighbors?

The responses to these statements indicating degrees of participation were weighed from 1 to 3, except in one instance the weighing was from 1 to 2 (item 2). The procedure for arriving at the mean scores for the two groups is the same as the one discussed above. But, in this case, a maximum of 26 points indicates a high degree of participation and a minimum of 9 points a low degree of participation.

Analysis Pattern

Systematically, each of the hypotheses for samples of both the total population and parents of school pupils was tested to find the likelihood that the differences could have occurred by chance.[10]

Collection of Data

Data was collected from a representative sample of households in Jackson County—a 5 per cent probability sample in rural Jackson County, a 10 per cent area probability sample of Ripley and a 10 per cent list-cluster sample of Ravenswood. Ripley and Ravenswood sampling rates were larger to obtain a larger number than the rural sampling rate would allow. The number of returns in the rural area and Ripley fell short of expectation; Ravenswood's number was within the expected range. No adjustments in the statistical analysis were made for the varying sample rates, in as much as the major emphasis for comparison was with sub-samples, migrant and non-migrant.

[10]Technically, a null hypothesis of no difference was used, together with students' "t" and also by the analysis of covariance.

Two hundred eighty-four household heads or their wives were successfully interviewed by three trained interviewers during June and July, 1964, with the use of a scheduled questionnaire.

5

Characteristics of the Sample

A discussion of certain demographic factors is needed to determine the similarities and dissimilarities of the two populations. These characteristics are influencing factors that may bear on the hypothesis.

Residence

The in-migrant population was defined as those who had moved into the county after January 1, 1954. As shown in Table 2, 44.2 per cent of the in-migrants had lived in the county for less than four years, and 55.8 per cent for four or more years.

This indicates that a large proportion of the in-migrants are relatively recent arrivals and it also suggests that the proportion met the initial labor demands of Kaiser Aluminum.

The largest proportion of in-migrants, 33.6 per cent, were from noncontiguous counties of West Virginia and the next largest, 27.9 per cent, were from contiguous counties of West Virginia. This indicates

TABLE 2

Length of Residence of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Length of Residence	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Less Than 1 Year	15	10.7	0	...
1 — 1.9	16	11.4	0	...
2 — 3.9	31	22.1	0	...
4 — 4.9	23	16.4	0	...
5 — 5.9	18	12.9	0	...
6 — 6.9	14	10.0	0	...
7 — 7.9	13	9.3	0	...
8 — 8.9	9	6.4	0	...
9 — 9.9	1	.7	0	...
10 Years and Over	0	...	144	100.0
Total	140	100.00	144	100.0

TABLE 3

Place of Previous Residence of In-migrants, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Previous Residence	In-migrant	
	Number	Per Cent
Contiguous Counties (West Virginia)	39	27.9
Other Counties (West Virginia)	47	33.6
Contiguous States (West Virginia)	28	20.0
Other States (United States)	24	17.1
Other	2	1.4
Total	140	100.0

that the majority of the in-migrants, 61.5 per cent, that migrated into Jackson County were West Virginia residents. The remainder were from contiguous and noncontiguous states and other areas, 20.0 per cent, 17.1 per cent, 1.4 per cent, respectively (Table 3).

Age and Sex

The largest proportion of in-migrants, 40.7 per cent, are in the age category 30-39; the next largest 40-49, 25.7 per cent. The majority 66.4 per cent, are within the age grouping 30-49 (Table 4).

There were two categories of the native sample having the largest proportion, 40-49 and 50-59, both with 20.1 per cent. The next largest grouping was 60-69 years, with 18.8 per cent. The majority of the native population, 59.0 per cent, are, then, between the ages 40 and 69 years.

This suggests that the in-migrant population is relatively younger than the native population.

TABLE 4

Age Distribution of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Age	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
20-29	27	19.3	16	11.1
30-39	57	40.7	13	9.0
40-49	36	25.7	29	20.1
50-59	12	8.6	29	20.1
60-69	6	4.3	27	18.8
70-79	2	1.4	23	15.9
80-89	0	0.0	7	4.9
Total	140	100.0	144	100.0

TABLE 5

Sex of Head of Household of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Sex	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Male	133	95.0	118	81.9
Female	7	5.0	26	18.1
Total	140	100.0	144	100.0

In keeping with expectations based upon the age distribution of the two populations, the in-migrants had a larger per cent with male household heads, 95.0 per cent and 81.9 per cent, respectively (Table 5).

Education and Income

The in-migrants of this study have had more education proportionately than the native population. Forty per cent of the in-migrants have graduated from high school, while 17.4 per cent of native population have graduated from high school. Of the in-migrants, 66.3 per cent have had 12 or more years of education, while 32.8 per cent of the natives have had 12 or more years. The median number of years completed for the in-migrants and natives is 12.4 and 8.7 (Table 6).

The largest proportion, 35.0 per cent, of the in-migrants have incomes between $6,000 and $8,000; the next largest proportion, 20.7 per cent, have incomes between $8,000 and $10,000. The majority (proportionately), 55.7 per cent, have incomes between $6,000 and $10,000. The median income for the in-migrants is $6,612.

TABLE 6

Highest Year of School Completed of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Highest Year of School Completed	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
6 Grade and Under	3	2.1	28	19.6
7-9 Grade	31	22.1	61	42.4
10	9	6.4	3	2.1
11	4	40.0	5	3.5
12	56	2.9	25	17.4
13	10	7.1	5	3.5
14	8	5.7	5	3.5
15	7	5.0	4	2.8
16 and Over	12	8.5	8	5.6
	140	100.0	144	100.0
Median	12.4		8.7	

TABLE 7

Income Distribution of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Income	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Under $1,999	7	5.0	47	32.6
2,000 - 2,999	10	7.1	21	14.6
3,000 - 3,999	4	2.9	10	6.9
4,000 - 4,999	19	13.6	21	14.6
5,000 - 5,999	49	35.0	20	13.9
6,000 - 9,999	29	20.7	6	4.2
10,000 - 14,999	13	9.3	7	4.9
15,000 - 24,999	4	2.9	3	2.1
Over 25,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not Applicable	5	3.6	9	6.3
Total	140	100.6	144	100.0
Median	$6,612		$3,400	

As shown in Table 7, the largest proportion of the native population, 32.6 per cent, are earning under $2,000 a year. The next largest, 14.6 per cent, are earning over $2,000 but under $3,000. Because the native population contains a large number of retired persons, almost half, 47.2 per cent, are earning over $2,000 but under $3,000. The median income for the natives is $3,400.

Household Type and Marital Status

The largest proportion of the in-migrants, 64.3 per cent, are married couples with children in school; the same is true for the native population, but not as great, 38.0 per cent. Of the native population, 18.8 per cent are married couples who have no children in school; this particular classification contains those families with children out of school and still living at home, and those with pre-school children (Table 8).

The in-migrants tend to have larger families. Of the in-migrant families, 52.9 per cent had between four and five persons living in the household, while 50.7 per cent of the native families had between two and three persons living in the same household (Table 9).

In both groups, in-migrant and native, the largest proportion of households contained married couples, 95.7 per cent and 75.0 per cent, respectively. The native population had 19.4 per cent widowed households while the migrants had 3.6 per cent (Table 10).

TABLE 8

Household Type of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Household Type	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Married Couple — Children in School	90	64.3	55	38.0
Married Couple — Children but None in School	31	22.1	27	18.8
Married Couple No Children	12	8.6	27	18.8
Not Married Couple* Children in School	4	2.9	3	2.1
Not Married Couple* Children, but None in School	0	0.0	5	3.5
Not Married Couple* No Children	3	2.1	27	18.8
Total	140	100.0	144	100.0

*Widowed, grandparents, other relatives, etc.

TABLE 9

Number Presently Living in Household of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Number Presently Living in Household	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	3	2.1	19	13.2
2	11	7.9	40	27.8
3	24	17.1	33	22.9
4	47	33.6	29	20.1
5	27	19.3	10	6.9
6	14	10.0	9	6.3
7	8	5.7	3	2.1
8	3	2.1	0	0.0
9	1	.7	1	.7
10 and Over	2	1.4	0	0.0
Total	140	100.0	144	100.0

TABLE 10

Marital Status of In-migrant and Native Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Marital Status	In-migrant		Native	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Married	134	95.7	108	75.0
Never Married	0	0.0	7	4.9
Separated	0	0.0	0	0.0
Divorced	1	.7	1	.7
Widowed	5	3.6	28	19.4
Total	140	100.0	144	100.0

Summary

The location of a large industrial plant in a rural area will necessitate the influx of new residents. This occurred in Jackson County. A large proportion of the newcomers are relatively recent migrants, but a larger proportion met the initial labor demands of Kaiser Aluminum and the need for expanded services in the county.

The majority of in-migrants were from West Virginia. The largest proportion came from noncontiguous counties.

The in-migrant population is relatively younger than the native population.

The in-migrants have had more education and have larger incomes than do the natives. The median level of education for the in-migrants is 12.4 years, and for the natives, 8.7. The median income for the natives is $3,400 and for the in-migrants it is $6,612.

The in-migrants and natives are similar in that the largest proportions of both consist of households with married couples with children in school. However, the in-migrants tend to have larger families.

6

Attitudes of the Total Sample Toward Education and the Schools

Attitudes Toward Education

In this and the two following chapters the hypothesis to be tested is that the in-migrants brought with them a set of educational values and norms which are different from those of the older established population. This hypothesis is to be supported by comparing the attitudes of the in-migrants and natives toward education and the schools.

The individuals interviewed in this study indicated that they strongly supported the typically American faith in the value of formal education. However, differences exist between the in-migrants and the natives. The newcomers seem to have more favorable attitudes toward education than do the old residents.

In each of the items in Table 11 the in-migrants have a larger per cent in the responses which are indicative of favorable attitudes toward education. Of the in-migrants, 92.2 per cent believe the things children

TABLE 11

Educational Attitudes of the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Educational Attitudes	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number Agreeing	Per Cent	Number Agreeing	Per Cent
Not Finishing High School is a Great Handicap	123	87.8	122	84.7
Things Children Learn in School are a Great Help	129	92.2	117	81.3
Very Disappointed if Child Quit Before Graduating	135	96.4	129	89.6
Encouraged Children to Continue Education Beyond High School	106	75.8	103	71.5
Would Like Children to Have College Education	128	91.4	112	77.7
Would Take Money out of Savings to Send Children to School	134	95.7	115	79.9
Would be Willing to let Children go into Debt for More Education	110	78.6	99	68.8
Would be Willing to go Into Debt Myself	125	89.3	108	75.0
Mean Score*	In-migrant 36.1		Native 33.6	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in a hundred.

learn in school are a great help, while 81.3 per cent of the natives believe the same. A large per cent, 91.4, of the newcomers would like their children to have a college education contrasted to 77.7 per cent of the old residents. Of the in-migrants, 95.7 per cent would use money from their savings and 75.0 per cent would be willing to go into debt to provide for additional education. Differences also exist in the remainder of questions asked, but are not as great.

The next step in the analysis of the data was to test the null hypothesis of no difference between the attitude toward education mean scores of the in-migrants and natives. The mean scores of the in-migrants and natives, 36.1 and 33.6 respectively, were found to be significant. Therefore, the in-migrants have more favorable attitudes toward formal education than does the indigenous population.

Evaluation of Teachers

The respondents were asked to evaluate the teachers in three ways: whether or not the teachers were doing a good job; whether the teachers were paid too much or too little; whether the teachers were as good or better than teachers elsewhere.

Slightly fewer than half of the respondents, both in-migrants and natives, said the teachers were doing a good job; slightly over a third said they were doing a fair job. The two groups differed concerning the pay of teachers: 67.8 per cent of the in-migrants indicated that the teachers were paid too little and 38.9 per cent of the natives indicated the same. Exactly half of the newcomers indicated the teachers were much better, or about the same, as elsewhere, while over half of the natives said the same (Table 12).

TABLE 12

Evaluations of Teachers by the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Evaluation	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
What Kind of job do you Feel the Teachers are Doing?				
Good	61	43.6	63	43.7
Fair	51	36.4	48	33.3
Poor	11	7.9	10	6.9
Don't Know	15	10.7	18	12.5
Do you Think the Teachers are paid:				
Too Much or Right Amount	19	13.6	49	34.1
Too Little or Definitely Underpaid	95	67.8	56	38.9
Don't Know	25	17.9	35	24.3
The Teachers of This County as Compared with Elsewhere are:				
Much Better or About the Same	70	50.0	80	55.6
Not as Good or Definitely Worse	40	28.5	21	14.6
Don't Know	28	20.0	38	26.4

Evaluation of the Schools

The respondents were asked a number of questions concerning their evaluation of the schools. Of the in-migrants, 87.9 per cent indicated that there was a great, or moderate, need for improving the schools, while only 67.4 per cent of the natives said the same. Of the natives, 47.2 per cent said the schools in Jackson County were much better, or about the same, as schools in neighboring counties of the State, and 35.0 per cent of the in-migrants indicated the same. In comparing the schools in the county with others in the United States, 52.1 per cent of the in-migrants and 27.8 per cent of the natives said they were not as good. When asked if they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the schools, 58.6 per cent of the newcomers and 29.1 per cent of the old residents indicated dissatisfaction. That the educational

TABLE 13

Evaluation of Schools by the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Evaluation	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Need for Improving the Schools:				
Great or Moderate	123	87.9	97	67.4
Little or None	7	5.0	10	7.0
Don't Know	8	5.7	32	22.2
Comparison of Schools in Jackson County with Schools in Neighboring Counties in the State:				
Much Better or About the Same	49	35.0	68	47.2
Not as Good or Definitely Worse	50	35.7	27	18.8
Don't Know	39	27.9	44	30.6
Comparison of Schools in Jackson County with Elsewhere in the United States:				
Much Better or About the Same	21	15.0	24	16.7
Not as Good or Definitely Worse	73	52.1	40	27.8
Don't Know	44	31.4	75	52.1
The Schools are Making the Best use of Money Available:				
Strongly Agree or Agree	59	42.2	53	36.8
Strongly Disagree or Disagree	43	30.7	41	28.5
Don't Know	36	25.7	45	31.3
Would You Say that You are:				
Completely or Somewhat Satisfied with the Schools	45	32.2	76	52.8
Definitely or Somewhat Dissatisfied	82	58.6	42	29.1
Don't know	11	7.9	21	14.6
Education Standards of the County are:				
High	12	8.6	21	14.6
Average	72	51.4	71	49.3
Low	35	25.0	15	10.4
Don't know	19	13.6	33	22.9
Mean Score*	In-migrant 24.1		Native 21.1	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in a hundred.

standards in the county were low or average was indicated by 59.3 per cent of the natives and 76.4 per cent of the new residents (Table 13).

In testing the null hypothesis of no difference between the in-migrants' and natives' attitudes toward the schools and teachers mean scores, the null hypothesis was rejected. The scores of the in-migrants and natives, 24.1 and 21.1 respectively, were significantly different at the .01 level of significance. This difference indicates that the in-migrants are more dissatisfied with the schools and teachers than are the natives.

TABLE 14

Rating of School Provisions by the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Rating of Provisions	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Transportation				
Good	57	40.7	59	41.0
Fair	34	24.3	37	25.7
Poor	15	10.7	25	17.4
Don't know	32	22.9	19	13.2
School Lunch				
Good	66	47.2	74	51.4
Fair	35	25.0	23	16.0
Poor	15	10.7	9	6.3
Don't know	22	15.7	33	22.9
Buildings				
Good	52	37.1	79	54.8
Fair	52	37.1	35	24.3
Poor	20	14.3	7	4.9
Don't know	14	10.0	19	13.2
Range of Subjects				
Good	38	27.1	45	31.3
Fair	35	25.0	31	21.5
Poor	30	21.4	14	9.7
Don't know	34	24.3	50	34.7
Facilities				
Good	37	26.4	46	32.0
Fair	40	28.6	34	23.6
Poor	31	22.3	18	12.5
Don't know	30	21.4	42	29.2
Recreation				
Good	43	30.7	55	38.2
Fair	44	31.4	27	18.8
Poor	22	15.7	17	11.8
Don't know	29	20.7	41	28.5
Vocational Education				
Good	28	20.0	47	32.7
Fair	21	15.0	19	13.2
Poor	26	18.6	14	9.7
Don't know	63	45.0	59	41.0

Ratings of Provisions

The respondents were asked to evaluate school provisions in Jackson County. The ratings ranged from excellent to poor. To condense the data, the ratings of excellent and good were combined. The newcomers were expected to rate the provisions lower than the old residents. This held true in most cases.

When the two groups were asked to rate school bus transportation and the school lunch problem, they responded similarly. However, the old residents rated the transportation system lower (fair to poor)

than did the new residents, 43.1 per cent and 35.0 per cent, respectively. The in-migrants rated the school lunch program a little lower than did the natives, 35.7 per cent and 22.3 per cent, respectively. Possibly the natives give transportation a lower rating because they have greater need for buses.

When asked to rate the buildings, over half of the natives, but less than half of the in-migrants, rated them as good. Almost half of the newcomers, 46.4 per cent, and a third of the old residents, 31.2 per cent were dissatisfied with the range of subjects (ratings from fair to poor). Half of the in-migrants, 50.9 per cent, and 36.1 per cent of the natives rated the facilites in the schools from fair to poor. Over four-tenths of the in-migrants and less than three-tenths of the natives rated recreation from fair to poor. Nearly half of both groups indicated "don't know," when asked to rate vocational education. However, the in-migrants had a larger per cent indicating a rating of fair to poor (Table 14).

These data point up, to a degree, the dissatisfaction of the new population with the existing school situation.

Summary

Available evidence thus far indicates that the in-migrants brought with them a set of educational values and norms that are different from those of the older established population. The in-migrants had a proportionately larger number giving responses which were indicative of favorable attitudes toward education. The attitude toward education mean scores of the in-migrants and natives, 36.1 and 33.6, respectively, was found to be significantly different.

The in-migrants were more dissatisfied with the teachers and the schools. The difference in the in-migrants' and natives' attitude toward the teachers and schools mean scores, 24.1 and 21.1, respectively, was found to be highly significant.

In most instances, the in-migrants rated the school provisions lower than did the natives. For the rating of transportation and the school lunch program, the in-migrants and natives were in agreement.

7

Attitudes of Parents of School Pupils Toward Education and the Schools

In order to make the analysis more precise, those respondents who indicated that they had no children in school were eliminated from consideration in this section. This procedure is followed because a number of the answers to questions depended on whether the family had children in school. The group referred to in this section as the parent group, contains both in-migrants and natives as in the total sample.

Attitudes Toward Education

The parent sample was also asked questions that would provide information as to their attitude about formal education. In the parent group, as in the total sample, the in-migrants had more favorable attitudes toward formal education than did the indigenous population. However, when asked if they encouraged children to continue their education beyond high school, the natives ranked higher than did the in-migrants, 94.5 per cent and 81.9 per cent, respectively. Of the new residents, 91.4 per cent indicated that the things children learn in school are a great help, contrasted to 77.6 per cent of the natives. When asked if they would like their children to have a college education, over nine-tenths of the in-migrants and over seven-tenths of the natives answered this question affirmatively. Of the natives, 89.7 per cent, and of the in-migrants, 99.0 per cent, would be willing to withdraw money from their savings to send their children to school; 98.6 per cent of the in-migrants and 87.9 per cent of the natives would be willing to go into debt (Table 15).

The null hypothesis of no difference between the mean scores was again rejected. The difference between the scores of the in-migrants and natives, 36.7 and 34.9 respectively, was found to be significant at the .01 level of significance. Although the respondents with no children in school were eliminated from this analysis, the difference remained. The in-migrants have more favorable attitudes about education than do the natives.

TABLE 15

Educational Attitudes of Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Educational Attitudes	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number Agreeing	Per Cent	Number Agreeing	Per Cent
Not Finishing High School is a Great Handicap	85	90.4	49	84.4
Things Children Learn in School are a Great Help	86	91.4	45	77.6
Very Disappointed if Child Quits Before Graduating	93	98.9	55	94.8
Encouraged Children to Continue Education Beyond High School	77	81.9	49	84.5
Would Like Children to have College Education	87	92.5	46	79.3
Would take Money out of Savings to Send Children to School	93	99.0	52	89.7
Would be Willing to let Children go into Debt in Order to get More Education	78	83.0	47	81.0
Would be Willing to go into Debt Myself	88	93.6	51	87.9
Mean Score*	In-migrant 36.7		Native 34.9	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in a hundred.

Evaluation of Teachers

As in the total sample, the parent group was asked to evaluate the teachers. Slightly more than half of the in-migrants and less than half of the natives said that the teachers were doing a good job, slightly over one-third of the new residents and less than half of the old said they were doing a fair job. The two groups hold very different views concerning the pay of teachers—43.1 per cent of the natives indicated that the teachers were paid too little, contrasted to 73.4 per cent of the in-migrants. Almost 60 per cent of the natives and 51.1 of the in-migrants indicated that the teachers were much better, or about the same as elsewhere (Table 16).

Evaluation of the Schools

As in the discussion of the total sample, the questions are considered here which elicited information concerning the respondents' evaluation of the schools. When asked if the schools needed improving, 92.6 per cent of the in-migrants and 79.3 per cent of the natives indicated that there is a great or moderate need for improvement. Over

TABLE 16

Evaluations of Teachers by Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Evaluation	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
What Kind of job do You feel the Teachers are Doing?				
Good	50	53.5	25	43.1
Fair	33	35.1	25	43.1
Poor	8	8.5	4	6.9
Don't know	2	2.1	3	5.2
Do you Think the Teachers are Paid:				
Too much or Right Amount	13	13.9	19	32.7
Too Little or Definitely Underpaid	69	73.4	25	43.1
Don't know	11	11.7	14	24.1
The Teachers of This County as Compared with Elsewhere are:				
Much Better or About the Same	48	51.1	34	58.6
Not as Good or Definitely Worse	30	32.0	13	22.4
Don't know	15	16.0	10	17.2

half of the natives, and one-third of the in-migrants, said the schools in Jackson County were much better, or about the same, as schools in neighboring counties in the State. In the comparison of the schools in the county with others in the United States, 58.5 per cent of the newcomers and 36.2 per cent of the old residents said they were not as good. When asked if they were dissatisfied with the schools, 69.1 per cent of the in-migrants and 37.9 per cent of the natives indicated that they were. Educational standards in the county are low or average according to 65.5 per cent of the natives and 84.0 per cent of the newcomers (Table 17).

The attitudes toward the schools and teachers mean scores of the in-migrants and natives, 24.7 and 21.8 respectively, were found to be significantly different at the .01 level of significance. As in the total sample, the in-migrants were more dissatisfied with schools than were the natives.

Rating of Provisions

As above, the parent group was asked to evaluate school provisions. As might be expected, since this group has children in school, larger percentages of the respondents rated the provisions lower than did the total sample. However, the same trend appeared in these data—the in-migrants rated the provisions lower.

When asked to rate the school lunch program, both the newcomer and the old resident, 55.3 per cent and 56.8 per cent, respectively, rated

TABLE 17

Evaluation of Schools by Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Evaluation	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Need for Improving the Schools:				
Great or Moderate	87	92.6	46	79.3
Little or None	3	3.2	3	5.1
Don't know	3	3.2	3	13.8
Comparison of Schools in Jackson County with Schools in Neighboring Counties in the State:				
Much Better or About the same	28	29.8	30	51.7
Not as Good or Definitely Worse	40	42.5	16	27.5
Don't know	25	26.6	11	19.0
Comparison of Schools in Jackson County with Elsewhere in the United States:				
Much Better or About the Same	14	14.9	8	13.8
Not as Good or Definitely Worse	55	58.5	21	36.2
Don't know	24	25.5	28	48.3
The Schools are Making the Best use of Money Available:				
Strongly Agree or Agree	44	47.9	24	41.3
Strongly Disagree or Disagree	35	37.2	20	34.5
Don't know	13	13.8	13	22.4
Would you say That you are:				
Completely or Somewhat Satisfied with the Schools	28	29.8	31	53.5
Definitely or Somewhat Dissatisfied	65	69.1	22	37.9
Don't know	0	0.0	4	6.9
Education Standards of the County are:				
High	7	7.4	11	19.0
Average	54	57.4	33	56.9
Low	25	26.6	5	8.6
Don't Know	7	7.4	8	13.8
Mean Score*	**In-migrant 24.7**		**Native 21.8**	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in a hundred.

it as good. For the rating of transportation, over half of the natives and over one-third of the in-migrants indicated a rating of fair to poor. While 38.3 per cent of the in-migrants rated the buildings as good, 36.8 per cent of the natives rated them the same. Almost six-tenths of the new residents and four-tenths of the old residents rated the range of subjects from fair to poor. Newcomers, 60.6 per cent, and 46.5 per cent of natives, indicated ratings of fair to poor for facilities. Slightly over 60 per cent of the in-migrants and nearly 50 per cent of the natives were dissatisfied with recreation in the schools (ratings of fair to poor) (Table 18).

TABLE 18

Ratings of School Provisions by Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Rating of Provisions	In-migrant N = 94		Native N = 58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Transportion				
Good	44	46.8	24	41.3
Fair	21	22.3	22	37.9
Poor	12	12.7	10	17.2
Don't know	16	17.0	1	1.7
School Lunch				
Good	52	55.3	33	56.8
Fair	25	26.6	12	20.7
Poor	14	14.9	8	13.8
Don't know	2	2.1	4	6.9
Buildings				
Good	36	38.3	37	63.8
Fair	40	42.6	17	29.3
Poor	15	16.0	3	5.2
Don't know	2	2.1	0	0.0
Range of Subjects				
Good	29	30.9	26	44.8
Fair	29	30.9	17	29.3
Poor	26	27.6	9	15.5
Don't know	8	8.5	5	8.6
Facilities				
Good	27	28.7	24	41.4
Fair	32	34.0	17	29.3
Poor	25	26.6	10	17.2
Don't know	9	9.6	6	10.3
Recreation				
Good	25	26.6	26	44.8
Fair	41	43.6	14	24.1
Poor	16	17.0	13	22.4
Don't know	11	11.7	4	6.9
Vocational Education				
Good	20	21.2	20	34.5
Fair	17	18.1	12	20.7
Poor	22	23.4	9	15.5
Don't know	34	36.2	16	27.6

The in-migrants rather consistently rated the provisions lower than did the indigenous population. Therefore, it is evident that there is additional support for the data discussed above—the in-migrants are more dissatisfied with the school situation.

Summary

As in the total sample, the values and norms of the in-migrants and natives of the parent sample were found to be different. The in-migrants had more favorable attitudes about formal education, as shown in the frequency data. The attitude toward education mean

scores of the in-migrants and natives, 36.7 and 34.9, respectively, was found to be significantly different.

Again, as in the total sample, the in-migrants were found to be more dissatisfied with the schools and teachers. The attitude toward the schools and teachers mean scores was found to be significantly different. The scores for the in-migrants and natives were 24.7 and 21.8, respectively.

The same trend appeared in the rating of provisions as it did in the total samples. The in-migrants rather consistently rated the school provisions lower than did the old residents.

8

Introduction of Intervening Variables

The analysis thus far has consistently indicated that the in-migrants have more favorable attitudes toward education and are more dissatisfied with the schools than is the indigenous population. At this point it becomes necessary to ask why the differences exist. Are they due to migration or are there other factors which contribute to these differences? In order to answer this question, the intervening variables of years of school completed and incomes of the respondent were introduced to standardize both the in-migrants and natives. Again, two samples were studied—the total and parents of school pupils. Two statistical tests were used in this particular analysis—students' "t" and the analysis of covariance.

The analysis of covariance was used to find the regression line most nearly common to both groups and was then used to test the significance to each regression line in terms of difference in slope. In Table 19 the F values for the slope and the mean for the total population and the parent group are presented. In each instance but one, the means were found to be significantly different at the .05 level of significance. The attitude toward education means for the parent group, with the intervening variable of income, was very near significance, $P<.06$. The log of income, as the intervening variable, for this same group was significant at the .05 level.

In only two instances, the attitude of the total population scores toward education with the variable of income controlled, and the

TABLE 19

Analysis of Covariance of the Attitude Toward Education and Attitude Toward the School Scores With Variables of Years of School Completed and Income Controlled, Total and Parents of School Pupils Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Score and Intervening Variable	Total Sample				Parent Sample			
	Slope	P	Mean	P	Slope	P	Mean	P
Attitude Toward Education								
Income	3.9385	P<.05	4.4786	P<.05	2.5259	P>.05	3.8953	P<.06
Years of School Completed	.0320	P>.05	7.9518	P<.05	.0026	P>.05	4.6994	P<.05
Log of Income	2.1981	P>.05	4.4198	P<.05	.9841	P>.05	4.1821	P<.05
Attitude Toward Schools								
Income	.9139	P>.05	12.7147	P<.05	.1821	P>.05	8.6256	P<.05
Years of School Completed	4.5887	P<.05	16.9968	P<.05	1.5774	P>.05	5.9158	P<.05
Log of Income	1.5640	P>.05	13.0005	P<.05	.1877	P>.05	8.4843	P<.05

attitude of the total population scores toward the schools with the variable of education controlled, were the slopes found to be significantly different, $P<.05$. In the remainder, the slopes were found to be equal (parallel). This means that a change in income or years of school completed results in a similar change in attitude toward education and attitude toward the schools scores for both groups. In other words, where the slopes are equal, but the means are different, there is an increase in the attitude toward education and the attitude toward the schools scores for a given rise in income, years of school completed, or log of income for each group. Since only two of the slopes were found to be significantly different for the total population, and none for the parent group, the two found to differ carry no real significance.

However, the difference in means specifies a difference between natives and in-migrants (at a given income or education level) as to the attitude toward education and attitude toward the schools.

In order to make the analysis more precise and to determine if there were any trends in the data at specific income and education levels, the "t" test was used. The analysis of covariance indicated that the means were significantly different but further analysis is needed to determine which means are significantly different.

A meaningful trend which appeared in the data was the difference in mean scores which occurred consistently at the lower income and education levels (under $4,000 and less than 12 years of education). This held true, except in one instance, for both the total and parent samples in the attitudes toward education and the schools scores. The attitude toward education scores of the parent group at under $4,000 income was near significance, $P<.06$. The attitude toward schools scores of the total at over $4,000 was found to be significantly different at the .01 level of significance, but since it was the only one in the upper income and education levels found to be different it does not assume significance. Since only one case was found not to be significant at the lower levels of income and education, and because this one was near significance, the trend is not changed. The in-migrant-native contrast in attitudes exists at the lower income and education levels but not at the higher. Therefore, the differences in the means as tested by covariance are primarily to differences within the lower socio-economic levels.

Summary

Since the differences between the in-migrants and natives were so significantly different, additional analysis became necessary. The variables of income and education were introduced to standardize both groups.

The analysis of covariance indicated that the slopes were parallel in all but two cases. This indicates that the in-migrants and natives are similar in that a rise in income or education yields a subsequent rise in the score. However, since all the means but one were significantly different, the indication is that the two populations are different.

The "t" test was used to determine which means were different at specific income and education levels. Therefore, the differences that were found to exist in the total and parent samples were due to differences at the lower income and educational levels.

9

Participation in School Activities Of the Total Sample

Data for this section were gathered in the survey and in informal interviews. The hypothesis to be tested is that a conflict of values resulted, and the in-migrants have sought to implement their values through leadership in the local P.T.A.'s, through working for congenial members of the school board, and through working for school levies.

Participation in School Activities

Questions were asked to elicit information as to the amount of participation in school activities. Relatively more in-migrants attend P.T.A. meetings than do natives, 61.5 per cent and 35.4 per cent, respectively. When the respondents were asked if they had worked for the election of certain school board members, more natives had worked than had in-migrants (Table 20). Of the two groups visiting a meeting of the school board, 12.8 per cent were in-migrants and 11.8 were natives. When asked if they had worked for school levies, 36.4 per cent of the newcomers and 18.1 per cent of the natives responded that they had. A larger percentage of the natives than in-migrants indicated that they had voted in levy elections, 78.5 per cent and 72.8 per cent, respectively. Over half of the in-migrants, 62.2 per cent, indicated that they had discussed school programs with the teachers and principals and less than half of the old residents, 35.4 per cent, indicated the same. Of the in-migrants, 21.5 per cent said they had discussed school programs with the superintendent, as

contrasted to 15.3 per cent of the natives. When asked if they discussed the quality of schools with friends and neighbors, 59.8 per cent of the natives and 81.4 per cent of the in-migrants said that they had.

TABLE 20

Participation in School Activities by the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Participation	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Attendance at P.T.A.				
Regularly	32	22.9	20	13.9
Occasionally	54	38.6	31	21.5
Never	51	36.4	87	60.4
Officer of P.T.A.				
Yes	21	15.0	14	9.7
No	113	80.7	125	86.8
Worked for the Election of School Board Members				
Did a Fair Amount	8	5.7	12	8.3
Worked a Little	19	13.6	18	12.5
Not at All	111	79.3	110	76.4
Visits to the Board				
Two or More Times	9	6.4	12	8.3
Once	9	6.4	5	3.5
Not at All	120	85.7	124	86.1
Worked for School Levies				
Worked Very Hard	16	11.4	9	6.3
Worked	35	25.0	17	11.8
Haven't Worked at All	86	61.4	116	80.6
Voting in Special Levy Elections				
All of These	85	60.7	77	53.5
Some	17	12.1	36	25.0
None	32	22.9	29	20.1
Discuss School Programs with Teachers or Principal				
Yes, Quite Frequently	20	14.3	11	7.6
Yes, Sometimes	67	47.9	40	27.8
No, not at All	51	36.4	90	62.5
Discuss School Programs with Superintendent				
Yes, Quite Frequently	11	7.9	4	2.8
Yes, Sometimes	19	13.6	18	12.5
No, not at All	108	77.1	120	83.3
Discuss Quality of Schools with Friends and Neighbors				
Yes, Very Much	59	42.1	24	16.7
Yes, Sometimes	55	39.3	62	43.1
No not at All	24	17.1	56	38.9
Mean Score*	**In-migrant 14.5**		**Native 13.0**	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in a hundred.

cent of the natives said that they had discussed school programs with teachers and principals. Of the in-migrants, 88.3 per cent, as contrasted to 70.7 per cent of the natives, indicated that they had discussed the quality of schools with friends and neighbors (Table 21).

TABLE 21

Participation in School Activities by Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Participation	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Attendance at P.T.A.				
Regularly	29	30.9	12	20.7
Occasionally	47	50.0	18	31.0
Never	17	18.1	28	48.3
Officer of P.T.A.				
Yes	19	20.2	9	15.5
No	73	77.7	49	84.5
Worked for the Election of Board Members				
Did a Fair Amount of Work	5	5.3	5	8.6
Worked a Little	17	18.1	8	13.8
Not at All	71	75.5	44	75.9
Visits to the Board				
Two or More Times	8	8.5	9	15.5
Once	8	8.5	3	5.2
Not at All	77	81.9	46	79.3
Worked for School Levies				
Worked Very Hard	14	14.9	7	12.1
Worked	27	28.7	6	10.3
Haven't Worked at All	52	55.3	45	77.6
Voting in Special Levy Election				
All of These	66	70.2	36	62.1
Some	10	10.6	13	22.4
None	16	17.0	9	15.5
Discuss School Programs with Teachers or Principal				
Yes, Quite Frequently	17	18.1	7	12.1
Yes, Sometimes	55	58.5	21	36.2
No, not at All	21	22.3	29	50.0
Discuss School Programs with Superintendent				
Yes, Quite Frequently	10	10.6	4	6.9
Yes, Sometimes	16	17.0	10	17.2
No, not at All	67	71.3	44	75.9
Discuss Quality of Schools with Friends and Neighbors				
Yes, Very Much	49	52.1	13	22.4
Yes, Sometimes	34	36.2	28	48.3
No, not at All	10	10.6	17	29.3
Mean Score*	**In-migrant 15.7**		**Native 14.2**	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in twenty.

Although participation for both groups was low, as measured by the items in the schedule, a difference was found to exist. When testing the null hypothesis of no difference between the mean scores for participation, a significant difference was found at the .01 level, and the null hypothesis was rejected. The scores were 14.5 for the in-migrants and 13.0 for the natives, indicating that the in-migrants participate more in school activities than do the natives.

Summary

The data support the hypothesis to be tested. The in-migrants rather consistently indicated responses that illustrate greater participation in school activities, as shown in the frequency data. Also, the significant difference found to exist between the mean scores is indicative of the different degrees of participation. The scores were 14.5 for the in-migrants and 13.0 for the natives. In the two items specifically mentioned in the hypothesis, that of attendance at P.T.A.'s and that of working for school levies, the in-migrants had a higher percentage of participation.

10

Participation in School Activities by Parents of School Pupils

Participation in School Activities

As in the total sample, the respondents answered questions concerning their participation in school activities. As might be expected, participation increased for both groups, but the differences still existed. Relatively more in-migrants had attended P.T.A. meetings than had the natives, 80.9 per cent and 51.7 per cent, respectively. The natives and in-migrants had done approximately equal amounts of work for the election of school board members. Of the in-migrants, 17.0 per cent had visited a meeting of the school board and 20.7 per cent of the natives had done the same. When asked if they had worked for school levies, 43.6 per cent of the in-migrants and 22.4 per cent of the old residents responded that they had. Over 80 per cent of the two groups indicated that they had voted in the levy elections. Slightly over 75 per cent of the newcomers and 48.3 per

cent of the natives said that they had discussed school programs with teachers and principals. Of the in-migrants, 88.3 per cent, as contrasted to 70.7 per cent of the natives, indicated that they had discussed the quality of schools with friends and neighbors (Table 21).

TABLE 21

Participation in School Activities by Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Participation	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Attendance at P.T.A.				
Regularly	29	30.9	12	20.7
Occasionally	47	50.0	18	31.0
Never	17	18.1	28	48.3
Officer of P.T.A.				
Yes	19	20.2	9	15.5
No	73	77.7	49	84.5
Worked for the Election of Board Members				
Did a Fair Amount of Work	5	5.3	5	8.6
Worked a Little	17	18.1	8	13.8
Not at All	71	75.5	44	75.9
Visits to the Board				
Two or More Times	8	8.5	9	15.5
Once	8	8.5	3	5.2
Not at All	77	81.9	46	79.3
Worked for School Levies				
Worked Very Hard	14	14.9	7	12.1
Worked	27	28.7	6	10.3
Haven't Worked at All	52	55.3	45	77.6
Voting in Special Levy Election				
All of These	66	70.2	36	62.1
Some	10	10.6	13	22.4
None	16	17.0	9	15.5
Discuss School Programs with Teachers or Principal				
Yes, Quite Frequently	17	18.1	7	12.1
Yes, Sometimes	55	58.5	21	36.2
No, not at All	21	22.3	29	50.0
Discuss School Programs with Superintendent				
Yes, Quite Frequently	10	10.6	4	6.9
Yes, Sometimes	16	17.0	10	17.2
No, not at All	67	71.3	44	75.9
Discuss Quality of Schools with Friends and Neighbors				
Yes, Very Much	49	52.1	13	22.4
Yes, Sometimes	34	36.2	28	48.3
No, not at All	10	10.6	17	29.3
Mean Score*	In-migrant 15.7		Native 14.2	

*The value of the difference of the two percentages for samples of this size could happen only by chance less than one time in twenty.

The increase in mean scores due to the elimination of those respondents with no children in school was of no significance. The difference between the in-migrant and native scores was found to be significantly different at the .05 level. The mean score for the in-migrants was 15.7, and 14.2 for the natives.

Summary

The in-migrant and native parents of school pupils were also found to be different in the degree of school participation. The data for both samples (total and parent) are comparable. The mean scores were also found to be significantly different—$P<.05$. Therefore, it is clearly indicated that the in-migrants participate more in school activities than do the old residents.

11

Introduction of Intervening Variables

The participation scale involves more items than are mentioned in the sub-hypothesis. However, it includes two items mentioned therein—attendance at P.T.A. meetings and working for school levies. The items included in this scale offer a measure of participation in primary school activities.

As above, the intervening variable of income and years of school completed were introduced to standardize both groups. Again, the statistical tests used are the analysis of covariance and the "t" test.

In the analysis of covariance table (Table 22), participation scores (means) for each of the intervening variables were not significantly different. That is, the means were the same in both the total and parent samples. Also, the regression lines (slopes) of each were found to be the same (parallel).

When the two groups were standardized in regard to years of school completed and income, no differences existed. The two populations are the same in their patterns of participation in school activities. Since none of the means was significantly different in the analysis of covariance, the use of the "t" test became unnecessary.

TABLE 22

Analysis of Covariance of the Participation Scores, With Variables of Years of School Completed and Income Controlled, Total and Parents of School Pupils Samples, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Score and Intervening Variable	Total Sample				Parent Sample			
	Slope	P	Mean	P	Slope	P	Mean	P
Participation								
Income	1.2308	P>.05	.2052	P>.05	1.0773	P>.05	.1287	P>.05
Years of School Completed	2.0839	P>.05	.1343	P>.05	.5640	P>.05	.0032	P>.05
Log of Income	1.7556	P>.05	.0257	P>.05	.3826	P>.05	.3156	P>.05

Summary

The analysis of covariance indicated that the populations are the same in regard to participation in school activities. The differences which were found to exist in the total and parent samples prior to introduction of the intervening variables, no longer are present. With standardization, the differences disappeared. However, even though the difference was not statistically confirmed, belief persists in the county that the in-migrants participate more in school affairs.

12

Respondents' Awareness

Total Sample

In this part, two questions were asked to elicit information as to the respondents' awareness of persons and organizations that are active in working for better schools. Of the newcomers, 49.3 per cent mentioned one to two persons or groups and 39.6 per cent of the old residents indicated the same. Over 50 per cent of the natives and over 40 per cent of the in-migrants mentioned none (Table 23).

When asked the same question, but in reference to five years ago, 78.6 per cent of the in-migrants and 85.4 per cent of the natives knew of no persons or groups. A problem with the second question is that of recall. Many persons were unable to think of such persons or groups. Another, which might explain the high per cent of in-migrants indicating "don't knows" is that many were not living in the county five years before.

The indication is that the in-migrants are much more aware of persons and organizations that can get things done for the schools.

Parent Sample

In the parent groups, as above, questions were asked to determine the respondents' awareness. As might be expected, both groups had higher percentages of persons indicating active persons or organizations. However, the in-migrants had a markedly greater increase; 60.7 per cent indicated one to two persons or groups, as contrasted to 43.1 per cent of the natives (Table 24).

TABLE 23

Respondents' Awareness of Persons or Organizations Active in Working for Better Schools, the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Number of Organizations or Persons Mentioned	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Presently				
0	2	1.4	2	1.4
1	44	31.4	43	29.9
2	25	17.9	14	9.7
3	5	3.6	4	2.8
4	2	1.4	2	1.4
5 and Over	0	0.0	1	.7
Don't Know	62	44.3	78	54.2
Five Years Ago				
0	2	1.4	2	1.4
1	18	12.9	17	11.8
2	7	5.0	2	1.4
3	3	2.1	0	0.0
4	0	0.0	0	0.0
5 and Over	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't Know	110	78.6	123	85.4

TABLE 24

Respondents' Awareness of Persons or Organizations Active in Working for Better Schools, Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Number of Organizations or Persons Mentioned	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Presently				
0	1	1.1	0	0.0
1	37	39.4	18	31.0
2	20	21.3	7	12.1
3	3	3.2	2	3.4
4	2	2.1	0	0.0
5 and Over	0	0.0	1	1.7
Don't Know	31	33.0	30	51.7
Five Years Ago				
0	1	1.1	0	0.0
1	15	16.0	11	19.0
2	7	7.4	0	0.0
3	2	2.1	0	0.0
4	0	0.0	0	0.0
5 and Over	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't Know	69	73.4	47	81.0

When asked the same question again, but in reference to five years ago, both the in-migrants and natives had a high percentage of "don't knows," 73.4 per cent and 81.0 per cent, respectively. The same problems, those of recall and recent migration, arise here.

It is strongly indicated, however, that the in-migrants are much more aware of active persons and organizations who can help the schools.

Summary

These data provide additional support for the sub-hypothesis. Although awareness is not a direct measure of participation, it indicates that the in-migrant is more concerned with the school situation than is the indigenous population. Almost 50.0 per cent of the in-migrants mentioned one or two persons or groups but only 39.6 per cent of the natives did, for the total sample. In the parent sample the in-migrants, again, had a higher percentage.

13

Discussion of Informal Interviews

From 1952 to the present, the people of Jackson County have faced a constant problem of inadequate schools and educational facilities. The residents of the county during these years, and those who moved into the county during this period, inherited a lack of foresight in regard to education in the public schools.

Historically, Jackson County, like most counties in the State, had depended on the State for the bulk of educational planning and support. The largely rural population considered the schools reasonably adequate. The unmet educational needs, already considerable in 1952, were to reach gigantic proportions within the next few years.

School officials, a core of interested and progressive residents, and Kaiser itself have struggled hard through the recent years to meet the needs of an ever-growing school population and the problem of non-existent or outmoded facilities.

With one major exception, repeated attempts to obtain finances to improve schools have met with failure. County-wide recognition of the scope of the educational problems and willingness to do something about it have been notably lacking. In fact, the geographically larger part of the county and the portion of the county in and about Ravenswood have developed a "split" that hampers solution of the educational problem.

In the five levy elections from 1955 to 1963, as mentioned above, only one was passed (May 21, 1959). The only apparent reason for this one passing was because it was only a bond issue, and it offered something to

just about every part of the county. Consistently, throughout these years the magisterial district of Ravenswood has voted in favor of these levies while the remainder of the county has voted against them. This adds support to the sub-hypothesis, that a conflict of values has resulted. Since Ravenswood is heavily populated by newcomers, the voting pattern points up the conflict between the two groups.

The conflict is further illustrated by the formation of the Ravenswood Foundation to provide additional support for the schools in that part of the county. Kaiser offered to pay two dollars for every dollar obtained by the foundation, but Kaiser's amount was not to exceed $58,000. The total amount collected reached $115,000. The primary function of the foundation is to supply supplemental monies to the school board.

In each of the interviews with the newspaper editors, school board members, principals, and a few members of various organizations, a great deal of conflict was mentioned between Ravenswood and the rest of the county—conflict between the new and old residents. When asked about participation in school activities, all confirmed the sub-hypothesis, but also indicated that many were young people and/or those with children. That is, those individuals with a direct interest are the ones who want better schools. One informant noted that there are three natives to one in-migrant in the county, but four natives to six in-migrants attending P.T.A. Relatively, more help is coming from the in-migrants. In most of the P.T.A.'s the in-migrants outnumber the old residents in both membership and leadership.

14

Respondents' Opinions About People's Attitudes Toward the Schools

Total Sample

The respondents were asked their opinions on the attitudes of the people toward education. The interviewees did not credit them with very favorable attitudes about formal education. Over 50 per cent of the in-migrants and less than 50 per cent of the natives indicated that the people in the county did not take enough interest in the schools. Both the newcomers and the old residents agreed that the people would not be in

favor of an additional levy for schools, 69.3 per cent and 66.7 per cent, respectively. When asked if the people would be in favor of an additional levy for specific things such as better buildings, more facilities, more subjects, better transportation. higher salaries for teachers, and a better lunch program, the in-migrants consistently disagreed, all above 50 per cent, and the natives disagreed also, but to a lesser degree, mostly less than 50 per cent (Table 25).

TABLE 25

Respondents' Opinions About the People's Attitudes Toward the Schools, the Total Sample, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Opinion	In-migrant N=140		Native N=144	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
The People Take Enough Interest in Schools				
Yes	33	24.2	54	47.5
No	81	57.8	59	41.0
Not Sure	22	15.7	25	17.4
The People Would Support an Additional Levy for Schools				
Yes	16	11.4	16	11.1
No	97	69.3	96	66.7
Not Sure	24	17.1	28	19.4
The People Would be in Favor of an Additional Levy for Better Buildings				
Agree	14	10.0	18	12.5
Disagree	86	61.5	78	54.2
Don't Know	38	27.1	44	30.6
More Facilities				
Agree	18	12.8	25	17.4
Disagree	79	56.4	65	45.1
Don't Know	41	29.3	50	34.7
Higher Salaries for Teachers				
Agree	21	15.0	31	21.6
Disagree	82	58.6	59	41.0
Don't Know	34	24.3	50	34.7
More Subjects				
Agree	22	15.7	26	18.1
Disagree	72	51.4	59	41.0
Don't Know	44	31.4	55	38.2
Better Transportation				
Agree	23	16.4	24	16.7
Disagree	76	54.2	68	47.2
Don't Know	39	27.9	48	33.3
Better Lunch Program				
Agree	23	16.4	21	14.6
Disagree	74	52.8	67	46.5
Don't Know	41	29.3	52	36.1
The People Would Favor Private Support for Schools				
Yes	43	30.7	30	20.8
No	55	39.2	63	43.8
Not Sure	39	27.9	46	31.9

TABLE 26

Respondents' Opinions About the People's Attitudes Toward the Schools, Parents of School Pupils, Jackson County, West Virginia, 1965

Opinion	In-migrant N=94		Native N=58	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
The People Take Enough Interest in Schools:				
Yes	23	24.5	18	31.0
No	62	66.0	32	55.2
Not Sure	8	8.5	7	12.1
The People Would Support an Additional Levy for Schools:				
Yes	10	10.6	9	15.5
No	70	74.5	40	69.0
Not Sure	13	13.8	8	13.8
The People Would be in Favor of an Additional Levy for Better Buildings				
Agree	8	8.5	8	13.8
Disagree	66	70.2	37	63.8
Don't Know	19	20.2	12	20.7
More Facilities				
Agree	12	12.8	12	20.7
Disagree	58	61.7	33	56.9
Don't Know	23	24.5	12	20.7
Higher Salaries for Teachers				
Agree	14	14.9	13	22.4
Disagree	63	67.0	30	51.7
Don't Know	16	17.0	14	24.1
More Subjects				
Agree	17	18.1	15	25.9
Disagree	52	55.3	28	48.3
Don't Know	24	25.5	14	24.1
Better Transportation				
Agree	13	13.9	14	24.1
Disagree	58	61.7	31	53.4
Don't Know	22	23.4	12	20.7
Better Lunch Program				
Agree	16	17.1	13	22.4
Disagree	55	58.5	31	53.4
Don't Know	22	23.4	13	22.4
The People Would Favor Private Support for Schools				
Yes	29	30.9	16	27.5
No	42	44.7	28	48.3
Not Sure	22	23.4	13	22.4

Although specific data are not available, the in-migrants made a qualification before answering—the qualification being that Ravenswood would be in favor of additional levies, but the county as a whole would not be.

Parent Sample

As above, the respondents were asked to give their opinions of how others felt about education. Again, the respondents did not credit their counterparts in the county with holding very favorable attitudes about education. Over 60 per cent of the in-migrants and over 50 per cent of the indigenous population indicated that the people do not take enough interest in the schools. The belief that people would not support an additional levy was held by 74.5 per cent of the newcomers and 69.8 per cent of the old residents. When asked if the people would be in favor of a levy for better buildings, more facilities, higher salaries for teachers, more subjects, better transportation and better lunch programs, almost 60 per cent of the in-migrants and slightly over 50 per cent of the natives thought not (Table 26).

Summary

The interviewees do not credit others with holding very favorable attitudes about formal education. In both the total and parent samples, the in-migrants have stronger negative feelings about the people of Jackson County.

15

Conclusions

The following conclusions are based on evidence gathered in the Jackson County study, relating to attitudes toward education and the schools. This study compared the attitudes of the in-migrants with those of the older residents in a rural, recently industrialized community.

The basic hypothesis that the in-migrants brought into the county different educational values and norms was partially upheld. For the total and parent samples, the in-migrants were found to have different values and norms as presented in the survey data. The attitude toward education and the attitude toward the schools scores were found to be significantly different, $P<.01$.

In order to determine why the differences existed, the variables of years of school completed and income were controlled. The trend that appeared after the analysis of these data was that differences existed only at the lower income and education levels. This evidence indicates that migration is a factor in the differences only at the lower socio-economic levels; the differences do not exist at the upper levels.

The main sub-hypothesis that a conflict of values resulted and that the in-migrants have sought to implement their values through leadership in the local P.T.A.'s, through working for congenial members of the school board, and through working for school levies was also partially upheld. The in-migrants were found to participate more in school activities than did the indigenous population. The participation mean scores for the total and parent samples were found to be significantly different. However, when the variables of years of school completed and income were controlled, the difference no longer existed.

Belief persists in the county that the in-migrants participate more in school affairs. The informal interviews with knowledgeable people in the county consistently confirmed that there was a conflict of values between the in-migrants and natives and that the in-migrants participate more in school activities. This conflict is also evident in the respondents' opinions about the people's attitudes toward the schools. Both groups had negative opinions about the people's attitudes. However, the in-migrants' feelings were more negative. This indicates a certain amount of frustration on the part of the in-migrants in their adjusting to the school situation.

Since this study took place approximately seven years after the construction of the Kaiser plant, the population of the county seemed to be relatively homogenous. The slight differences that now exist might have been greater five years ago.